1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[10], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[10] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

/250 cont./

844 602 (114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. ---A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (105) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821
823 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
372 virtues.
825

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
796

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λίθου,

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περὶ ἐμψ. προσώπου σελήνης,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἄνοδος καὶ κατάβασις »,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, Τ.Β.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

392 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Αρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ιστορία ζώων, ΙΙ, 12
(821) and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
(831) of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
19 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινὸς Βίος, τ. VI, σ. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΠΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can
therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)
177
178

18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[191] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, 60, 30, 8 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Κανονικαὶ διατάξεις ἁγίων πατέρων, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 340, etc.

/257 cont./

the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion

/260 cont./

and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...

/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

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the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid., pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life." say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 776 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 753 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

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776 233 789 head of the animals. (51)

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem/ Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. 48, n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock 783 233 789 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern [372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of [823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
(823) the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. 289 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

(196) (191) 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873, one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 239 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

(191) 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

(194)

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΙΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβίης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 825 582 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] [833] [755] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 825 787 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 787 [171] Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 763 787 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

787 [887] [554] However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

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121 789 792 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

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789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space [822] into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill- [823] omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/321 cont./

this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tseligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

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775 postulate of representation.
(602) Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
775 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
(262) forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
(602) and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
(261) in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
(785) fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
(533) chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
(775) world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.